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# The Canadian Railroader Weekly

Official Organ of

THE FIFTH SUNDAY MEETING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

Howard K. ...  
Dept. Social S.  
McGill University  
Montreal, Que.

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## SHIP OF STATE HAS TROUBLE ABOARD

ONLY a short time ago the newspapers were filled with advices from Ottawa to the effect that there would be a general tariff revision. It was conceded in these despatches that time was very limited and that there would be great hustle and bustle to expedite a new tariff schedule. Just about this time the Hon. Mr. Crerar was going about the country telling the open-eyed and wide-mouthed constituents about the tariff pork barrel, and Mr. Crerar should know something about it as he has been quite prominently identified with Ottawa affairs for some time.

Viewed in the light of past performances the news that has been sent over the wires without the last two days on Cabinet reconstruction is certainly illuminating. We are informed that the Cabinet is in the most unsatisfactory condition since the defeat of the Liberal party in 1911. At the very time when a strong, united and resolute government is needed to pilot us through the dangerous waters of reconstruction it is becoming clear that there is neither a pilot nor a crew on the ship of state, capable and organized, for the work ahead. The news despatches indicate that three important portfolios, civil re-establishment, labor and the post-office, are held by members of the second chamber. The Department of Customs and Inland Revenue is also rudderless, while the Minister of Trades and Commerce, Sir Geo. Foster, is retiring. Rumor has slated the Hon. Martin Burrell, Secretary of State, for retirement for the last two years. The Minister of Militia, the Hon. S. C. Mewburn, desires to re-engage himself in private business, and the Hon. A. L. Sifton, so it is reported, is so ill that he will not be able to manage his department for a long time.

Then comes a wild series of reports concerning the health of Sir Robert Borden, all of which express the idea that his state will not permit him to preside over the coming parliamentary session. To cap the situation the Hon. Dr. Reid, the pol-

itical manager, is also ill. In the meantime the farmers are stampeding all over the lot with the good health that characterizes those who lead the simple life. There is "wim" and "wigor" and pep galore in the lusty farmer aggregation. It certainly is very unsportmanlike to run that crowd of pink-cheeked cherubs head-on, into the milk-fed, highstrung, pale-faced and war-racked group of reconstructionist statement at Ottawa just when they were going to reconstruct a reconstructionist government.

In reviewing the situation the Montreal Gazette declares that old party lines have been broken and old party enthusiasm has fallen. Among other things we are told that the united farmers should be conservative, also that New Brunswick and the western provinces have been swallowed up by the farmer move-

ment, and that Nova Scotia is also menaced. Then the Gazette ventures the opinion that "there are still conservatives in Canada". To which we might add that when the acts of conservative statesmen are reviewed it is remarkable that there are still some conservatives, no matter how few in number.

However, the point is this. Could you possibly imagine calm, sane revision of the tariff schedule under chaotic conditions? Is not the prevailing confusion the strongest possible argument for the establishment of a permanent scientific tariff board? And it is not apparent to you after what Mr. Crerar has been saying about tariff pork barrels that we want our tariff adjusted by men who are free from the sinister influences of the contributors to political campaign funds? Every working man realizes that if industrial establishments are made to pay heavily by the contribution route for adequate tariff protection, then whatever sums are expended will be sweated out of the workman un-

til the account is paid in full, sweated out of his toil and his labor, and the workman of this day is tired, sick and disgusted with such methods, as the following list of unions endorsing the tariff board will indicate.

These organizations debated the question and declared in favor of a non-political, scientific advisory tariff board. It will take five or six weeks before we will be able to give a complete record of the hundreds of organizations of every description that opposed to the old slipshod irresponsible methods practised until this time:—

Bro. of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen No. 487, Niagara Falls, Ont.

United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Employers and Railway Shop Laborers No. 83, Belleville, Ont.

Int. Association of Machinists No. 779, Belleville, Ont.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Int. Union No. 30, Belleville, Ont.

Order of Railway Conductors No. 623, Belleville, Ont.

Collingwood Barbers Union No. 528, Collingwood, Ont.

Int. Asso. of Machinists, No. 627, Collingwood, Ont.

United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners No. 1008, Collingwood, Ont.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America No. 343, Collingwood, Ont.

Federal Asso. of Letter Carriers, No. 20, Kitchener, Ont.

Kitchener Musicians Protective Asso. No. 226, Kitchener, Ont.

Barbers Union No. 304, Kitchener, Ont.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union No. 422, Kitchener, Ont.

Int. Bro. of Boilermakers No. 604, Joliette, Que.

Int. Bro. of Maintenance of Way Employees No. 62, Brandon, Man.

Bro. of Locomotive Engineers No. 188, Stratford, Ont.

Amal. Society of Engineers No. 1186, Stratford, Ont.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders No. 297, Stratford, Ont.

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Can. Bro. of Railway Employees No. 37, North Bay, Ont.



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(Continued to page 4)



## Our OTTAWA LETTER

IN default of other matters of interest, the visit of Admiral Jellicoe is once more reviving the interesting question of the political status of Canada as well as her future naval policy with which it is bound up. It is highly interesting to find the "Ottawa Journal", the organ of the Government at the Capital, rebuking the "London Daily Telegraph" for the rash assertion that Lord Jellicoe's tour and his reports to the Dominions will lay the foundation of "an Imperial Fleet". The "Journal" insists that Lord Jellicoe's visit has nothing to do with an Imperial Fleet, but that he is here at the request of the Dominion Government to advise in regard to a naval policy. It goes on to draw attention to Sir Robert Borden's memorandum (referred to in last week's letter) opposing an Imperial Fleet and insisting on separate Dominion navies, which the other overseas Premiers endorsed, to the disgust of the British Admiralty.

Sir Robert Borden of 1918-19 at last finds himself in complete agreement with Sir Robert Borden of 1909, but in the meantime he had some strange wanderings which are worth recounting. In 1909, as the result of the growing menace of German naval power and the difficulty Great Britain found of maintaining the two-power standard, the Laurier Government decided to undertake the responsibility of creating a Canadian Navy. Resolutions were introduced by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and carried with the unanimous support of Sir Robert Borden and his party to the effect that the best method whereby Canada could undertake her

share of the naval defence of the Commonwealth was by the creation of a local navy. Two cruisers were bought from the British Government, a naval college was established and plans were laid to build more cruisers. There were criticisms that the Government's plans were inadequate but it was a beginning and in the main the country was satisfied.

The matter had so far been kept out of politics. But there was acute dissatisfaction and criticism of the Canadian Navy in one quarter, from Mr. Henri Bourassa and his followers in Quebec, who began crusading against it. They formed the Nationalist party, whose main principle was that Canada should undertake the responsibility of defence of no shores but her own, should keep clear of the vortex of European militarism and refuse even to establish a local navy of her own on the ground that it was useless.

Then came the historic by-election of Drummond-Arthabaska in 1910, where the Nationalists captured a safe Liberal seat on the anti-naval cry. In this contest Sir George Foster, our great Imperialist, blinded by a partisan fury which he has now largely shed, urged Tory electors to vote for the Nationalist candidate.

The result astounded the whole of Canada, and revealed the startling fact that a large element of the population of Quebec did not follow Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his naval policy. The Conservative managers noted the fact for future use.

A year rolled by, and the reciprocity issue loomed up. The treaty had to be defeated by hook or crook. The campaign in the English-speaking provinces against the Treaty was based on the loyalty cry and the old flag which have done such yeoman service in defence of vested interests in this country. But Quebec was Laurier's stronghold and as long as he held it his defeat was far from certain. Some breach in the ramparts must be made. What better engine could be found than Mr. Bourassa and his National party?

So there was consummated for the election of 1911 the most unsavory alliance that ever disfigured politics in a British country. The Tories who had attacked Sir Wilfrid Laurier for anti-Imperialism joined forces with the Nationalists who declared he was too Imperialistic. In Quebec outside of Montreal reciprocity was scarcely discussed, the naval issue holding the field.

Mr. Bourassa has told how he obtained large subsidies of "good Conservative money" from the good loyal Imperialist, Sir Herbert Ames, to distribute free copies of

the "disloyal, anti-Imperialist 'Le Devoir' throughout Quebec."

Nor should the comic incidents of the campaign be forgotten; how Mr., now Senator, Blondin of the Union Government asserted that "to win liberty we had to shoot holes through the British flag and may have to do it again", and how another nationalist candidate, soon destined for high office, led children on to the platform and prayed to the Virgin that these babes be spared from the consequences which the foul Imperialist policy of Laurier might involve them in.

The move was all too successful, Laurier had 28 seats carried against him and the Nationalists elected 20 members. Premier Borden at once allocated them three seats in the Cabinet; great was the rage of the "Toronto Telegram" but without the Nationalists there was no adequate majority.

Before the reciprocity issue came up the Tories had been backing up on their support of a Canadian Navy. Apparently besides the desire to placate the Nationalists another factor was present. The British Admiralty did not like the idea of Dominion Navies; they wanted to handle everything under their own control. There will never be any proof that they deliberately intrigued against the Laurier Naval policy, but it is certain that they welcomed the change of Government in Canada and proceeded to supply the new Borden government with the plans for a contribution scheme and arguments to support it.

Mr. Winston Churchill, then in charge of the Admiralty, sent his famous memorandum in which he expressed his belief that Canada could neither build nor man ship and offered to come out to take part in the controversy.

The year 1913 is not a pleasant one in our annals to contemplate in retrospect. The Borden Government brought down his proposals to give Britain a contribution to build Dreadnoughts, the opposition resisted it, a protracted and unedifying Parliamentary struggle ensued, and the Borden programme was

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eventually killed by the Senate, which then had a Liberal majority.

The question was still in abeyance when the war broke out, but there had been no signs of any popular enthusiasm for the policy of contributions. It was generally felt that Sir Robert chiefly introduced it to please his Nationalist allies who could not support a Canadian navy.

The Borden policy was much worse from the autonomy point of view and Mr. F. D. Monk, a statesman of real ability and fine character, resigned rather than accept it. With two or three exceptions the rest of the Nationalists found the fleshpots of office too pleasant to let their principles interfere with their retention.

The experience of the war strengthened the case for local Dominion Navies. Many Canadians felt a certain pang of jealousy in the early days when they read of the Australian Navy taking possession of Samoa, and the Sydney, one of its cruisers, sinking the Emden. Later on their own Atlantic coasts had to depend for protection from German submarines on the British and American navies. From the start Great Britain had a firm superiority in Dreadnoughts, but had not a sufficient supply of light swift cruisers. The Laurier programme was probably not adequate enough to meet the situation but if it had been proceeded with, it would have had in readiness a good squadron of swift modern cruisers as the Canadian contribution to the naval forces of the Commonwealth.

Australians all along have insisted on maintaining their own local naval craft under their own control. It has been demonstrated that it was possible after the war broke out to arrange satisfactory cooperation between it and the major British fleet, and one great strategic argument always advanced therefore goes by the board. Apparently the Australian delegates and the teachings of the war brought Sir Robert Borden back to his original 1909 view of a Canadian Navy under the control of the Canadian Parliament.

This retrogression is only part and parcel of the change which has come over Sir Robert's whole views upon the future relations of the units of the British Commonwealth. Time was in his opposition days



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when he was a zealous Imperialist and was never tired of denouncing Sir Wilfrid as lukewarm towards the cause of Empire and breaking down the time-honored ties. He used to give great encouragement to the wandering missionaries of the Round Table, who hoped for great things when the old Frenchman would be replaced by the loyal Nova Scotian.

But they failed to realize that a Canadian politician in opposition is a very different being from the same Canadian politician in opposition in office. It was all very well to give platonic endorsement to the idea of Imperial Federation but another thing to put it into effect. It was political gunpowder which Sir Robert, always a cautious man, would not touch and one well-known English Imperialist, who hastened soon after Sir Robert entered office to urge that something be done to realize the dreams they had held in common came away complaining that the Premier had frozen him cold.

Later on Sir Robert airily dismissed the whole Round Table scheme of a centralized Imperial Parliament on the ground that it was "neither wise nor feasible" and damned its authors with the faintest of praise.

Since that date he has been a strong protagonist of Dominion autonomy and has made speeches, written cables and filed memoranda with the Imperial Government of such a nature that if poor Sir Wilfrid had been their author he would have been reviled as a traitor to the Empire from Halifax to Vancouver. Sir Robert has made errors in judgment and policy, but his record on the Imperial problem for the last five years has been highly creditable and partakes more of Liberalism than Conservatism which always tends to centralisation. He has said many wise things on the subject and resisted many foolish proposals; the influence of General Smuts with whom he formed a close friendship may have had some effect, but his own clear grasp of constitutional aspects and political difficulties was the main factor.

The economic aspect of Imperial Federation must also have weighed with him.

He leads a protectionist party and if a centralised Imperial Union had come to pass it would have been very difficult to resist demands from the Canadian Council of Agriculture and free traders in general for the abolition of all tariffs between the various units, a happy state of affairs which is found in all other known political federations.

The whole question of the political status of Canada is to come up for determination at an Imperial Conference which will be summoned in the near future to discuss the future organisation of the British Commonwealth.

There are many anomalies about the present position of Canada and some elucidation is needed. Some of

our Cabinet, to begin with, need a course of education on the ordinary meaning of current constitutional terms. In the debate of the Peace Treaty Mr. Rowell, who poses as a great authority on such matters, made great play with what he called "the formal recognition of Canada's new national status" and Mr. Doherty assured us that we were at last a nation.

Now, international law only recognizes two kinds of political organizations (1) state, that is, monarchies or republics; and (2) protectorates or dependencies. It takes no account of nations. There is a distinct difference between a nation and a state. The Scotch are a nation but in no sense are they a sovereign state. What was till lately Austria-Hungary was a sovereign state in the fullest sense, but no one thought of describing the totality of its inhabitants as a nation—it contained in its bounds several nations who did not enjoy statehood. One of the chief tests of statehood is the possession of the right to send and receive diplomatic representatives.

But no definition of state has been found to better that of Abraham Lincoln—"a political community without a political superior". Now to this definition of a state Canada does not conform; we have a political superior in the shape of the Imperial Parliament and our powers are delegated and limited by the fetters of the B.N.A. Act.

It is unlikely that there will be objections from any quarter to our assuming the title of nation, it is a mere formality like when a man insists that "Esq" be put on his letters. Whether the somewhat varied population who live within our bounds have acquired the necessary common spiritual and traditional experience said to be indispensable for creating the sense of nationality may be a matter of dispute among ourselves. But Mr. Rowell and Mr. Doherty deliberately lead people astray when they assert that any far reaching changes have been achieved in our political status by the fact that we will henceforth be allowed to call ourselves a "Nation".

What is a much more important question is our political status—are we or are we not to be a sovereign

state or what do we want to be? As things stand at present we are a sovereign state for certain purposes and for others we are a subordinate part of a larger family. The double role is sometimes very convenient but other states will not allow us to continue it indefinitely. At present, when the matter of Oriental immigration comes up, we are a sovereign state with full right of determining the quality of the population within our own borders.

But when it comes to matters of tariffs and preferential treatment within the Empire and other states say they are being discriminated against and must retaliate, when we are mightily aggrieved that they should take offence at what we assert to be only a domestic arrangement between the units of one single Commonwealth. The "Manitoba Free Press" holds that we must go forward and become a completely sovereign state with presumably the Crown as the only surviving link between the Dominions and the mother country, which is exactly what the much-abused Mr. J. S. Ewart has always advocated.

Anyhow, this and kindred questions will come up for discussion at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. Sir Robert has announced that he will invite the leader of the Opposition to accompany him. But the leader of the Liberal party in Parliament to-day commands only one section of the Opposition forces. The Canadian Council of Agriculture and the powerful body of opinion behind them should begin at once to demand that the Canadian delegation contain a representative who will express their views.

They should also bring to the attention of the Premier ere he sails the plank in their platform which insists that no attempts be made to change the present status of Canada without consultation of the Canadian people either by an election or a referendum.

One thing is needful that the people of Canada should obtain some control over their foreign policy or "external affairs" which is a better title. It should no longer be possible for us to be committed

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to vast and bloody wars by the acts of statesmen over whom we have not the slightest control.

Take the case of our Siberian expedition. We undertook it at the request of the War Office and though the casualties were small the expense was great. The avowed object was to suppress the Bolsheviks and put those great democrats Denikin and Kolchak in control. It is now proven by an overwhelming mass of evidence that Kolchak and Denikin represent the worst form of reaction. Prince Kropotkin, one of the greatest minds in Europe and a strong anti-Bolshevist Russian, two months ago wrote pleading with the Western powers to abandon intervention and Col. Lester Malone, a British Coalition M.P., after a visit to Russia took the same line.

Mr. Lloyd-George who has never at heart favored the policy of interference or believed that Bolshevism could be suppressed by force but was overruled by the ambitious Winston Churchill, has now come round to the view that Russia must be left to work out her own fate and has announced that neither troops nor subsidies will be sent to the aid of Denikin and Kolchak henceforth. Peace may soon be in sight for eastern Europe. At present there is proceeding at Dorpat a conference between the Bolshevik representatives and the heads of the new Balkan States, Esthonia, Lithuania and Courland. The Bolsheviks apparently have been favored with a good crop and have got their transportation system in fair order. Once British help ceases they will crumple up Denikin and Kolchak. But they have found many of their original schemes unworkable and in the end the regime which they will evolve will be little more than an advanced form of socialism. They will have to make some sort of compromise with the moderate elements and abandon the tyrannical oppression of all opinion which runs counter to them. But the expeditions against them are now revealed to have been hopeless and wasteful folly. We paid our share through lack of any real control over our external affairs. We trusted to the wisdom of the British Foreign and War Offices and we must never do so again. There is no department of our national life which we are not capable of managing for ourselves better than any body else could do. J. A. S.

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(Continued from page 1)

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 Order of Railway Conductors No. 242, North Bay, Ont.  
 Bro. of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America No. 447, North Bay, Ont.  
 United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners of Can. No. 38, St. Catharines, Ont.  
 Iron Moulders Union No. 385, St. Catharines, Ont.  
 Local Barbers Union No. 1, St. Catharines, Ont.  
 Bro. Painters and Paperhangers, St. Catharines, Ont.  
 Metal Polishers Int. Union No. 97, St. Catharines, Ont.  
 United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners of America, St. Catharines, Ont.  
 United Asso. of Plumbers and Steamfitters No. 244, St. Catharines, Ont.  
 Bricklayers and Masons and Plasterers No. 4, St. Catharines, Ont.  
 Iron Moulders Union of North America No. 249, Woodstock, Ont.  
 Int. Bro. of Railway Stationmen Carpenters Union No. 494, Windsor, Ont.  
 Amal. Society of Carpenters and Joiners No. 2659, Hamilton, Ont.  
 Typographical Union, Woodstock, Ont.  
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 Int. Union Steam Operating Engineers, No. 232, Niagara Falls, Ont.  
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 Order of Railway Conductors No. 492, Palmerston, Ont.  
 Railway Employees of America No. 685, Brantford, Ont.  
 Bro. Railroad Trainmen No. 371, Farnham, Que.  
 Union Catholique Ouvrière No. 1, Three-Rivers, Que.  
 Asso. Marine Engineers No. 9, Sorel, Que.  
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 Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 355, Calgary, Alta.  
 Mine Workers of America No. 431, Bellevue, Alta.  
 Can. Bro. Railway Employees No. 20, Charlottetown, P.E.I.  
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 United Mine Workers of America, Joggins.  
 United Bro. Maintenance of Way

Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 137, Stellarton.  
 Bro. Railway Carmen of America, No. 324, Stellarton.  
 Can. Bro. of Railway Emp. No. 18, Stellarton.  
 New Glasgow Typographical Union No. 794, New Glasgow.  
 United Mine Workers of America, No. 4514, Springhill.  
 Inter. Ass'n. of Machinists No. 786, Kentville.  
 United Mine Workers of America, No. 4524, West Waterford.  
 Fisherman's Union No. 53, Port Morien.  
 Quarry Workers Inter. Union No. 164, Sweets Corner.  
 United Mine Workers of America No. 4540, Little Bras D'Or Bridge.  
 United Mine Workers of America No. 4539, Louisburg.  
 United Mine Workers of America No. 4553, Florence.  
 United Mine Workers of America No. 4529, Caledonia Mines.  
 United Mine Workers of America No. 4518, Glace Bay.  
 United Mine Workers of America, District 26 No. 4510, River Herbert.  
 United Mine Workers of America, District 26 No. 4523, New Aberdeen.  
 United Mine Workers of America No. 4536, Dominion No. 6.  
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 United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners of A. No. 1588, Sydney.  
 Bro. of Loco. Firemen and Enginemen No. 737, Sydney Mines.  
 Bro. of Railway Trainmen No. 554, Sydney.  
 United Mine Workers of America No. 4535, Sydney.  
 Federated Ass'n of Letter Carriers No. 43, Amherst.  
 Can. Bro. of Ry. Emp. No. 80, Amherst.  
 Sydney Amal. Ass'n. Iron, Tin Workers of North America No. 2, Sydney.  
 Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers No. 425, Halifax.  
 Boilermakers and Masons Inter. Union No. I. W. S., Halifax.  
 Can. Bro. R. E. No. 95, Halifax.  
 P. and S. No. 56, Halifax.  
 Federal Labor Union No. 14781, Thornburn.  
 Inter. Ass'n. of Machinists No. 605, Amherst.  
 Iron Moulders Union No. 253, Amherst.  
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 Order of Grain Buyers of Canada, Federal Labor Union No. 32, Moose Jaw.  
 Bro. of Locomotive Engineers No. 510, Moose Jaw.  
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Inter. Asso. of Machinists No. 639, Moose Jaw.  
 United Bro. of Carpenters of America No. 619, Moose Jaw.  
 Bro. of Railway Clerks, Freight Handlers and Station Employees No. 665, Moose Jaw.

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## OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

Glasgow, November 20.

THE Aberdeen fishermen are to be warmly congratulated on the termination of the protracted dispute. "We probably have not got everything we wanted," said one of the men, "but we have gained all the main points for which we were fighting. We are particularly pleased at being able to establish the principle of one day on shore between trips. On this point the terms of settlement stipulate that crews on a ten days' trip or longer will be allowed one day on shore without pay after settling day, the time to count from the day of leaving port until settling day, both days inclusive. Under that promise practically all the fishermen sailing from Aberdeen are now entitled to 24 hours clear between trips. Most of the short-trip boats, not included in the ten days' limit, are in port over the week-end, thus giving the men Sundays at home."

The wages settlement is also regarded as satisfactory. First engineers will now receive 18s per day, second engineers 16s 6d, firemen 13s 6d; and deck hands and cooks, 11s 6d, plus perquisites (roes and livers, as formerly). Masters will receive a 1% share of the catch (on a fourteen shares basis), mates a 1% share, second fishermen 11s 6d, and 3d on every pound. In addition, skippers are to receive a six months' bonus of 10s per 100 lb., for the first 2,000 lb. and £1 for every 100 lb. gross thereafter. A scale of shore pay, when services are retained for boiler cleaning or other repairs, has also been drawn up, ranging from 9s 8d for deck hands to 14s per day for the chief engineer. The dispute lasted 72 days.

### Granton Trawlers Idle.

No sooner does one fishing dispute end than another begins. Between 60 and 70 trawlers are laid up at Granton as the result of a strike by the engineers and firemen. Nearly 600 men are affected. The men, in addition to their daily rate of wages, are paid a bonus of 10s on every £100 of the vessel's gross earnings. They now want 15s per £100 of the first £200, and 3s on every £10 above that. The employers have made an offer at the rate of 15s per £100 irrespective of the amount of the vessels' earnings.

### Educating the Workers.

In co-operation with the Education Authority the Glasgow branch of the Workers' Educational Association has arranged for the forthcoming winter a very attractive scheme for classes for adults in the following subjects: (1) The politics, economics, and literature of the French Revolutionary period in Britain; (2) Social progress of the nineteenth century — Its philosophical background; (3) The State, what it is, how it became what it is, and our function in it; (4) Economics — problems of industrial organization; (5) European history, 1713-

1919; (6) Economic history of Russia; and (7) Social history of the iron and steel industries with special reference to the West of Scotland. The Classes, 1 to 5, will be full courses of 24 lectures and the last two will be half courses of 12 lectures.

### Fight for Recognition.

The fight for recognition by the Falkirk and District branch of the National Union of Clerks has received a monetary check from a Falkirk district foundry firm. The local secretary, Mr. Burt, told the Trades Council that recently a certain foundry firm in the district had called its clerks together and almost intimidated them to withdraw from the union. As a result, 13 male members of the staff had resigned from the union. There were over 20 females in the office, and these had proved themselves the "men" of the staff. The Union was trying to get into contact with the firm. The Trades Council decided to use all its moral power to assist the clerks.

### Post Office Union Demands.

At a crowded meeting of the Glasgow branch of the Post Office Engineering Union, an emphatic protest was passed against the award of the Civil Service Arbitration Board, wherein a war wage increase of 10 per cent.

based on pre-war rates of wages is offered to members over 16 years of age. The branch is "amazed" at the marked difference between their claim of £1 per week and 30 per cent. on pre-war rates, and the award, and calls upon their national executive, working through the National Joint Committee, to institute a vigorous campaign with the view of convincing the Government and the public of the justice of the demands.

### Iron Industry Strike.

A statement has been issued by the Scottish Employers' Federation of iron moulders in support of their demand for an increase of 15s per week. In this they state that on the same day as the letter was received from the Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland, the Federation wrote to the general secretary of the men's society, renewing the offer which had been made at a conference on September 24, to grant the increase awarded by the Court of Arbitration on similar claims under the general agreement.

"The Court of Arbitration," says the statement, "on the 5th instant, awarded an advance of 5s per week, to take effect as from the beginning of next month, and, accordingly, the position at present is that the employers have made an offer to advance the men's wages by this sum. The offer was not previously accepted, and, so far, no communication has been received from the ironmoulders with regard to the renewed offer. Unless a settlement is made the Scottish ironmoulders will cease work next week. Over 7,000 are affected in Scotland.

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"The employers are organized on a national basis, and it has been manifest that the Scottish bosses have been doing all they can to assist their English bosses h anlxrea

lish pals by taking on work diverted by the strike in England. As a consequence the Scottish moulders are convinced it is their duty to stand shoulder to shoulder with the English moulders for a living wage.

"A conference of representatives of the Federation and the men's Society was held in Glasgow this week. Arrangements for the making of castings in Scotland while the dispute is in progress were discussed, but the conference decided not to disclose the decisions arrived at."

### Trade Union Outcry.

It is probable that within the next week or two, the Government will discover that it has ranged the whole trade union movement against it by its vacillation and failure in dealing with the unemployment problem. The decision to end immediately the payment of unemployment doles to civilians has evoked resentment and protest throughout the ranks of the unions. The circumstances under which the dole has been stopped suggest that the consequences of the action have not been fully realized by the responsible Ministers. What it means is simply that thousands of men and women have been placed suddenly in a position in which they must starve or seek the aid of the Poor Law. Another movement is likely to be started in order to renew the pre-war "right to work" agitation. This is likely to have very far-reaching effects as it is looked upon as a call to war by the workers.

James Gibson.

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## Views of Lord Leverhulme, Manufacturer, Humanitarian and Gentleman

"If anyone approaches the subject with the idea of adopting copartnership and profit-sharing as the best way to increase his profits, he will make an utter failure of it", declared Lord Leverhulme, speaking at a luncheon of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, last week. "If he approaches the subject with the idea that there is something finer than dividends and something higher than big profits, namely, making finer men and women, it will be a success." The attendance at the luncheon was the greatest in the history of the Chamber of Commerce.

Lord Leverhulme declared that the human factor has been neglected in industry, and that large establishments make personal contact between employer and employee impossible. As a youth, he said, he had been much impressed by the loyalty of a workman in his father's grocery, who, on learning that the firm was not making money, had offered to accept a reduction in pay until business increased. Although the offer was not accepted, he said, it typified a feeling of co-operation that is needed in industry today. He felt that the wage system must continue, and expressed distaste that the treatment of human beings as one would wish to be treated should be spoken of as philanthropy. No self-respecting workman, he said, would have philanthropy.

### Division of Profits.

"Why should all the profits go one way, and all the work go an-

other," he asked, calling attention to the necessary partnership of Labor and Capital in business. "Why shouldn't we divide the stream, and let the profits go, some portion to the stockholders, and another portion among the staff who are making them?"

In addition to the wage system, he advised bonus payments. "I have not a single word of anything, but praise for payment of bonuses," he said. "I am convinced that it suits the mentality of the workmen in this country. I am equally certain that it suits the mentality of the workmen in our country, and that it has only been by the action of employers as affecting bonus rates, in which there has been a tendency that when the workman has made what some considered too high an amount, to cut the rate down, which has resulted in the dissatisfaction among trades unions, and trade unionists. It has been due to the abuse of it, because I have observed it in my own country that the effort of the workingman, when it has produced a reward commensurate with his efforts, has met this comment: 'I think you are making too much money', and then a lower rate is tried, until it has finally been given up.

"Now apply it to ourselves. Suppose we saw somebody at our shoulder looking at our balance sheet, who thought that last year, when he had made a supreme effort in business and had expanded, we had made too much money, and that the State or government or whoever had this

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power over us, thought we were making too much, and cut our rate down. I think in a short time, instead of being a progressive race of manufacturers, we would become apathetic. We would lose all interest.

### Dignifying Labor

"I am convinced that if we can bring the capitalist and the working man together in some sort of partnership, that we have gone not only a long way to make satisfied workingmen, and to produce the best type of men and women, but to relieve our own shoulders of the burdens we carry. If we have a body

of partners working with us, you will find that they will give suggestions here and suggestions there which they will consider no part of their business under the ordinary system of employment, wages and bonus. And we want relief. I venture to say that the heads of business today have a far greater load to carry, a greater responsibility, than ever it was intended that human beings, single handed, should carry.

"The only relief we will get is from our own staff, and those whom we have developed and who came along in the firm, and they have their right and proper place, with dignity and self-respect. No, it is not philanthropy, nothing degrading, but absolutely what the workingman wants, both in America and England, a feeling of equality, that he in his place is doing his share and is as important in the business in his own way as the president of the company, and that he occupies as honored and honorable a position."

Lord Leverhulme told of the long hours formerly worked by women and even small children in England. Every reduction of hours, he said, had been followed by increased output. His six-hour day contemplated working the machines 12 hours instead of eight, by putting on two shifts. Eight-hour shifts are impracticable, because such shifts will not fit in with the routine of the home. Increasing factory output by the six-hour, two-shift plan, he said, will not, where building costs are so high, save putting up new factories, if plants must increase their production. To give workingmen and women opportunities for education and right standards of living, he said, would "prove that we are more concerned with producing the finest type of men and women than with any other problem with which we have to deal."



Some of the beautiful model homes built by Lord Leverhulme for the use of his workers. They are rented at moderate rates. There is no philanthropy about the idea; it is simply a good business proposition.



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WEEKLY

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GEO. PIERCE, Editor.      KENNEDY CRONE, Associate Editor.

## Evidence Wanted

**F**OLLOWING is an editorial from the Montreal Daily Star of December 5. It is headed "Danger" and should be read carefully by all interested in preventing terrorism in Canada;

"The Star has, more than once, warned its readers of the danger of the militant anarchy we call Bolshevism in Canada, and especially in the larger of the Canadian cities. It would once more repeat that warning.

"The danger is more real and more imminent than the very great majority of Canadians believe. As we escaped the physical devastation of war we have come to believe that we shall also escape war's most terrible aftermath, the wrenching and wrecking of men's souls by the forces of discord and destruction. We do not realize to what extent this continent has been, through many years, made into the refuge of hordes of foreign exiles. These people, driven from their own countries by oppression or because their presence was a menace to their former Governments, have a flaming hatred in their hearts for all established authority. We have allowed them to live among us, and they will repay us, if the chance comes, by establishing on this continent the same chaos and misery they have inaugurated elsewhere.

"The Star has no desire to be an alarmist. It has every confidence in the common-sense and level-headedness of the Canadian people. But it does believe that there are in Montreal, and doubtless in other Canadian cities as well, active forces working night and day for the establishment of anarchic conditions here in Canada. It believes, moreover, that these forces need only to be left alone to carry on their underground activities for a short time before we hear from them in a way that will both surprise and shock us.

"It is the duty of every Montrealer—of every Canadian, whether dwelling in city or country—to aid his Government and every agency of his Government to fight these people, to dig out the plague-spots at whatever cost. We dare not trifle with these forces as we dare not trifle with disease or devastating fire."

"The Star" is not an impersonal thing in its editorial columns. It is, one may reasonably suppose, a fairly correct interpretation of the personal views of Lord Atholstan and some other human beings closely associated with him. So to Lord Atholstan I would say that if it is the duty of every Montrealer to fight these people, to dig out the plague-spots at whatever cost, so also is it the duty of Lord Atholstan to supply to the

Canadian Government at least, and perhaps to the whole people, the evidence which he apparently possesses.

Has Lord Atholstan supplied to the Minister of Justice the evidence on which "the Star" believes that there are in Montreal active forces working for the establishment of anarchy in Canada? Who are these militant anarchists, their names, addresses and occupations? What is it they have said or done that convicts them of being militant anarchists? The processes of law are ready to deal with them.

Montrealers want more than an alarming warning from the Star. They want the facts on which the assumptions are based, so that they can properly deal with the menace. The minimum they ask of Lord Atholstan is that he pass his information on to the authorities.

K C.

## Labor Temple Needed

**S**EVERAL big plans already decided upon in Britain and the United States for the erection of Labor Temples conforming to the needs and dignity of the labor movement have led to the resumption of talk in Montreal regarding the rearing of a great building dedicated to the interests of labor. There was some agitation for a million-dollar Labor Temple prior to the war, but the years of strife squeezed the matter temporarily out of mind.

What is needed is a Labor Temple with a main hall capable of seating not less than 4,000 persons, with at least three smaller halls, with club and recreational facilities, with suites of offices and committee rooms, with accommodation for a library and perhaps a labor college. Halls and offices at present in use by labor organizations are scattered and woefully inadequate from every point of view.

One suggestion is that the new Labor Temple should occupy a prominent position on a leading thoroughfare and take the form of a great office building, the parts not wanted for labor purposes to be rented. The main hall might frequently be rented for concerts and other meetings not directly connected with the movement; the need of such a hall has been felt in the city for many years.

As for the financing of the construction of such a Labor Temple, those who have given some thought to the question feel that with more than 40,000 trade unionists in the city, there should be no great difficulty in raising the necessary funds amongst them.

K. C.

## The Juvenile Court

**W**HEN the Juvenile Court was opened in Montreal some eight years ago, social welfare workers and reformers were satisfied that an important step forward had been taken in dealing with some of the child problems of the present day. No one who had studied the subject even in the slightest degree was found to dispute the wisdom of saving children from being brought in contact with the ordinary police courts and tribunals of justice. But like all good devices, even the Juvenile Court has its dangers, the chief of which appears to be the too easy handling of all children who commit some trifling offence such as any parent should deal with rather than a public authority. Probably there is not a single public man of today in high places who did not steal apples during his school period. Presumably Adam, had he been a boy, would have been hauled before the Juvenile Court today.

At a recent meeting where topics of penal reform were discussed, great surprise and horror were expressed by a speaker who hailed from Ireland that arrest was such a common process in this city, and particularly that the police had the power to arrest his own lad for the enormous offence of playing ball in the streets. His reasonable alternative was that lads who evidently had good homes and parents should simply have their names and addresses taken in such a case. That complaint is borne out by many other cases that come before the Juvenile Court. Not so



long ago some boys were taken down by the police to the station and then to the court charged with — what? The silly prank of lying down on a railroad crossing. But the legal wisdom of the court discovered that unless the railroad corporation instituted a prosecution for trespass, the boys had committed no actual wrong against society. Surely in such a case the police constable might have chased the boys off with a warning or he could have seen their parents. It is against the interests of society that boys who have no criminal intent whatever should be arrested by police and caused to appear even in the parlor known as the Juvenile Delinquents' Court.

## Executive Board Meeting

**A**T a meeting of the Executive Board of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, held this week, plans were laid for dividing the Montreal membership into a number of Locals, as the total membership in the city was much too unwieldy in its present form. A beginning will be made with Locals containing not more than 600 members each.

It was decided to depart from the system of holding big public meetings only on the fifth Sundays of the year, and to hold them at whatever time was found suitable to obtain important speakers.

Mr. S. Dale of the Executive Board was appointed official representative of the Association to watch the case of Engineer Howland, driver of one of the trains which met in a head-on collision with fatal results near the city recently, and who is before the courts on a charge of negligence.

Some critics of the entry of Montreal bank clerks into the union movement say that only a few of the incompetents have joined up. As I happen to know that there are more than a thousand men and women in the "few", am I to assume that the big banks, boasting about their security and their efficiency, are staffed by incompetents? Really, I'll have to withdraw my three dollars from the bank!

K. C.

## Brotherhood and Service

Some points from a sermon delivered in a Montreal church two Sundays ago make interesting reading, not because there is anything basically new about them, but perhaps more because of the way they come down to earth and strike a clear, simple and personal note on everyday problems, in which the church must play its part or lose its place. Sunday, so to speak, is telling the rest of the week what has to be done.

The structure of the sermon has been wholly departed from on account of length in entirety and the difficulty of giving a faithful summary. But although the points are presented in disjointed form, it is hoped that the impressions are substantially as they were intended to be conveyed. As to where they were made and who made them, never mind at present! Here they are:—

"The world is not suffering to-day for people who can work miracles. The supreme mark of spirituality is to have the disposition of Jesus, and the outstanding need of the world to-day is a great company of people who will so live as to remind man and women of Jesus Christ. . . . That is what enables one to do what

the thousands cannot do, and gives to character that which commands admiration and respect. . . .

"The nations of the world face to-day a gigantic task. The war is over, but a greater struggle still lies ahead. The shattered fabric of civilization must be rebuilt. The spirit of hatred and animosity must be gradually overcome. The new social and international life of the world must be built up on a truer and sounder foundation than the old. The war has shown us the shallowness and failure of the old materialism that ruled our social, industrial and business life in pre-war days.

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"There are many schemes afoot for the betterment of the world, but no scheme which has not for its basis the principle of love to God and one's fellow-man, and which is not animated by the spirit of Jesus Christ, will ever alter human nature. To make that principle live in the hearts and minds of men, and to spread that spirit throughout the world, is the great duty of the Christian church. To this service God calls each of us to-day. It is a responsibility we dare not shirk. It is the supreme duty of a critical moment in the history of the world.

"We may not be able to inaugurate great movements for reform, or be able to suggest effective remedies for many existing evils. But this we can each and all of us do. We can bring to bear upon those we meet the influence of a life consecrated to the ideals of brotherhood and justice and truth. If one wishes to do something for the betterment of society, he can make a very wholesome and enduring contribution towards it by exemplifying before the world the temper and character and spirit of the Master.

"That is what the world needs more than anything else at the present time. Selfishness is the great blight upon our social, business and political life. And nothing but the spirit of Jesus-Christ can overcome it. In Him lies the solution of the great world problems of to-day.

"If you and I are bringing His spirit and His ideals to bear upon

those with whom we associate, we are doing something, however humble, to bring order out of chaos, contentment out of unrest, and confidence out of suspicion and distrust. It will cost us something in time, comfort and worldly opportunity to do this, but it is worth it all. Anything worth while calls forth a certain amount of sacrifice.

"Do you remember in the Apocalypse, that wonderful vision of the sealed book. On the great dazzling throne of Heaven One is seated and in His open palm a book filled with writing and sealed with seven seals. It is the Book of Destiny waiting to be unrolled. The challenge has gone forth to break the seals. In sadness the Seer realizes that no one is able to do it. No man had the moral and spiritual equipment for the task. Then comes the message of the Seer — 'Weep not: behold the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book and to loose the seven seals thereof. And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain'.

"What the prophet sees is not a lion in his might and strength, or a king in his aspect of power, but a Lamb, standing and bearing the marks of slaughter. Strange symbol of a conqueror! The lion conquers by strength, but the lamb by patience and gentle endurance, not by the sacrifice of others but by the sacrifice of itself.

"In the midst of the throne, at the heart of the universe, stands the eternal law of sacrifice. It was the absolute fulfilling of this great law that gave Christ the right and power to open the seals. He had prevailed. And you and I can accomplish anything worth while only if we are willing to pay the price. We may have to give up many things for the sake of principle, we may be compelled to miss many an opportunity for self-aggrandizement or self-advancement, but we shall find our souls in the sacrifice, and, better still, we shall prove efficient witnesses to the power of our Lord."

The quotations are from a sermon delivered in All Saints' Church, St. Denis, street, by the Rector, Rev. James E. Fee.

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## Ontario on the Move; Local of Fifth Sunday Meeting Association Formed at Smiths' Fall

UNDER the kindest and most inspiring auspices, a Local of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association was formed in the Library Hall at Smith's Fall, Ont., last Saturday night. There was ample evidence that it was only the first sign of the determination of the people to carry the human message of the Association throughout Eastern Ontario, the message of brotherhood and service and common unity in the common cause of a real democracy.

A concrete proof that the old barriers of class, creed and political shade were beginning to crumble was given in the list of charter members of the new Local. Men and women met simply as entities in the social fabric who had decided to stand together on a platform dedicated to the interests of all the people and to see to it that their ideas were translated into practical progress of state and nation.

Mr. D. H. Gemmell, General Secretary of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen for Eastern Lines of the C.P.R., and Provisional President of the new Local, was chairman of the meeting. He told of the hopes of the Local to unite all classes in Smith's Falls in an effort to select, train and elect to all legislative assemblies men who were representative of the workers by hand and brain, who were pledged to the progressive and democratic platform of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, men without personal or class axes to grind, and answerable for all they did direct to the workers. There was great unrest, and a real danger existed of this unrest being capitalized by those of revolutionary thought, although actually representative of comparatively small classes in the community. A new social order had to be founded, a new way had to be found to reorganize the old system without swinging the power to the revolutionist, and he submitted that the way was through the organization of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, the orderly,

constructive and constitutional way as opposed to the way of class strife and general chaos.

Mr. J. T. Pearson, Reeve of Smith's Falls, and Mr. J. Gardiner, of the Trades Council, members of the Provisional Committee of the new Local, also spoke in similar vein.

Mr. J. A. Woodward, President of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, said that he had come from headquarters in Montreal not to make a set speech on any subject but just to tell something of the construction of the Association, what the Association had already done, and its aims and ideals for the future.

Originally a small band of railroaders who felt that if they were to do more good in the world they must step beyond the economic purposes of trade unionism and bring their experience and organization in the trade union movement to bear upon the pressing problems of all the people, the organization had developed into a great assembly of men and women, all workers by hand or brain, organized and unorganized, bonded together to help in bringing about a better and a happier Canada. He spoke of the number of leaders of various movements and classes who were members of the Association or who had, without solicitation of any sort, endorsed its work.

Underneath the economic purposes

of trade unions lay great moral principles, sometimes ignored, sometimes overshadowed, with an ever-present opportunity to develop and expand, and with not enough practical use of that opportunity. Trade unionism really meant brotherhood and service, not as between members of one railway brotherhood or one trade union alone, but as between all brotherhoods and unions, and between them and all other people. Trade unionism was a great and noble step towards an end, a great foundation for the new social order so badly needed in Canada and other countries to-day.

He reviewed the planks in the platform of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, and then told of the headquarters organization with the equipment and experience necessary to develop and deal with any local situation anywhere. The circulars, pamphlets, the official organs, the guidance of experts, the funds — all lay ready for concentration at any point. So far as municipal and provincial elections and other affairs were concerned, the local associations would educate and campaign on their own account, aided where necessary from headquarters. In the bigger field of federal politics and national questions generally the whole campaign would be modelled and launched with highly-concentrated effort.

A number of little local organizations working as independent units would never get very far against the established and powerful machines of old-line politics and special interests. Collectively they might go very far indeed.

No longer should a worker wanted by the workers as their representative on the floor of the House of Commons have to keep out of the fight simply because he had no mo-

ney or because he dared not risk what little he had saved. Let the Locals of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association choose, train and finance the candidates as much as possible, but it rested largely with headquarters to put the campaign through, with such money and such other aid as might be necessary.

One dollar of the two-dollar annual subscription (little more a cent a day, by the way) remained in a Local's treasury for local purposes. The other dollar maintained the central organization, which in many things acted for all Locals, giving them the necessary strength and facilities at the opportune moments, as the needs arose, while constantly maintaining a general educational propaganda.

As to control of the central organization, that was in turn vested in the members. The Initiative, Referendum and Recall process was part of the constitution, and ready to be brought into operation at any time. It was impossible for any man or any group of men to control the central organization, either from within or without. It had been provided that the control should always remain as the members ordered and in no other way.

He told of recently addressing bank clerks who were joining the union movement for betterment of their working conditions. The man with the white collar was the twin brother of the man in overalls, and the sooner we fully realized it and got together the better for all of us. The Association movement was open to all workers by hand or brain. There was nothing petty or rigidly circumscribed about it. There was no class division in it, except that it was an organization of workers as distinguished from persons who had more than their just share of what had been earned by the sweat of others. It was not an organization of railroaders, mechanics, bank clerks, professors, merchants, farmers, Conservatives, Liberals and so on, as such. It was an organization embracing them all, for all of them. It showed the only way out of the dangers of unrest.

After the meeting practically all persons present joined the new Local, to which a charter is being issued this week. The election of officers will take place shortly and the Local will get down to business, perhaps concerning itself first with the municipal elections, which take place in January.

The Provisional Board is made up as follows: President, Mr. D. H. Gemmell; Vice-President, Mr. James Brown; Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. George Rogers; Members of Committee: Messrs. J. T. Pearson, R. Grant, J. Gardiner, F. Barriger and T. Minshall.

## YOUR PAPER

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TO keep in complete touch with the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association movement, and to have put before you the news and views relating directly or indirectly to its aims and ideals, it is desirable to subscribe to the *Canadian Railroader*, the official organ. By so doing you also aid the movement, as the paper provides revenue to carry out its work.

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### Its Only Aim Is The Welfare of The Masses.

The people of a nation cannot advance beyond the men who make its laws, and the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada exists to see to it that the workers by hand and brain are directly represented in the law-making bodies of the Dominion; to find, train and elect the right men of our own class in order to secure the kind of legislation that will protect and advance the interests of the workers.

It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges, and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

#### WE PLEDGE OURSELVES:—

To support all municipal, provincial and federal educational plans where the evident purpose is to raise the standard of education in enlightened and progressive ways; to present truthfully and fearlessly through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the "Canadian Railroader", the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments;

To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person, one vote; the transfer of taxes from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial, political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen's housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker, according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen's Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 60 Dandurand Building, Montreal, Que. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

The funds accumulating in the Dominion Headquarters are used for political and educational propaganda; the development of the organization; the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and the financing of the various political campaigns where favorable opportunities develop, to elect our candidates. The treasurer is under bond and the books are audited by a firm of accountants.

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## A Social Survey In Montreal

*It has been felt for years by a number of social workers, in Montreal, and by others interested in welfare movements in the city, that a survey of the social agencies was badly needed, to find out the defects in the service and point the remedies, but no one had the nerve to do it thoroughly and fearlessly. However, it has at last been done in a report of which a rough summary is given on this page. Further extracts from the report will be given in the Railroader from time to time.*

A social and financial survey of Protestant and non-sectarian social agencies in the city of Montreal, described by Professor J. A. Dale as marking an era in the social life of Montreal, and setting a standard of statesmanship along such lines, was formally brought before a meeting in Stratheona Hall, Montreal, which was attended by about one hundred delegates of the societies concerned. The report submitted by Mr. J. Howard T. Falk, was a very comprehensive analysis of all such agencies, their finances and their methods, the document being remarkably frank, in its expose and criticism.

The recommendations of the committee were that efforts should be put forth to promote three distinct councils, one for Roman Catholics, one for Hebrews, and one for non-sectarian agencies; but as only the third category was represented at this meeting, attention was confined to the Protestant and non-sectarian council of social agencies. It was proposed that a central executive council be formed, the functions of which would be to institute survey and research, keep a social service directory, issue a monthly publication called the "Social Worker", hold an annual conference in Montreal, operate the "Confidential Exchange", and concentrate all efforts on given social problems, when necessary. This proposal, after some discussion, was referred to a meeting to be held in the latter part of January next, when delegates will have been instructed by their organizations.

The gathering was presided over by Mr. George Lyman, with Mr. John Bradford acting as secretary. The latter briefly traversed the steps that had led up to the formation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and the undertaking of this survey of social operations.

### The Report Adopted.

Mr. Lorne Webster then moved: "That this meeting receive the report of the survey committee appointed by the executive of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and instructs the executive to communicate with the proper officers of the agencies included in the survey, and requests them to appoint an official delegate to represent them at a meeting of the council to be held on Friday, January 23; such delegates to be authorized to record the willingness or refusal of their agency to become an active unit in the Montreal Council of Social Agencies as outlined in the report of the survey committee".

This was seconded by Mrs. Mitchell.

Another motion was handed in by Mr. Charles Fyfe, seconded by Mr. Charles Mullen, in which it was proposed that a feeler should be taken through the Board of Trade, Chambre de Commerce, Canadian Club, and similar organizations, but the feeling of the meeting was against this method, and the motion was withdrawn.

Rev. T. W. Davidson, secretary of the Provincial Social Service Council, drew attention to the fact that the proposed council would be in danger of overlapping the provincial council, and urged that some effort be made to link up with the Dominion Social Service Council through the Provincial Council, so that Montreal should not be isolated. Mr. John Bradford insisted that there must be a council in Montreal to deal with its own problems apart from any outside agency, and the opinion of the meeting was with him in this statement. Miss Helen

Reid also endorsed the proposed plan.

Judge Howard raised the question as to whether this new council would not be duplicating the work of the Charity Organization Society, but Mr. J. B. Dawson, secretary of the latter, declared that it would be absolutely impossible for the C.O.S. to do the work that this council proposed to undertake.

### Not Financial.

With regard to the statement in the report that no financial federation was proposed Mr. Falk explained that while personally believing absolutely in this plan, he was opposed to it for Montreal.

The motion offered by Mr. Lorne Webster was adopted, and thereafter Professor J. A. Dale moved the formal thanks of the meeting to Mr. Falk for his report, in which Judge Howard, and Mr. J. S. Brierley concurred. Following is Mr. Falk's report, in part:

Canada's welfare, according to Mr. J. Howard T. Falk, in his introduction to the "Report on Social Aspects", depends upon two things more than anything else: The development of right relations between Labor and Capital, and increased production.

He ascribes the strained relations between Labor and Capital as being "at least in part due to the fact that one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives",

and he continues that "no one is in a more strategic position than the social worker to act as interpreter. Every dependent person is a consumer, not a producer, and, as such, is a direct loss to the nation. It is the duty of social workers not only to bring back the non-producers to a state where they can produce again, but also to prevent those who are producing from falling out into the non-productive class.

Mr. Falk quotes a social worker to whom he showed a manuscript of the report as saying, "I believe what you say is the truth, but its publication would sign your death-warrant amongst those who are interested in social work", and he replies that if what he says is substantially correct, any effect it may have on himself must not prevent its publication.

He looks for little sympathy from those who disagree with the fundamental principle of his report, which is that "upon those who organize to alleviate poverty, cure the sick, and reform the criminal, devolves the definite responsibility of utilizing their experience to ascertain, reveal, and attempt to eliminate the social and economic conditions which bring their clients to their doors", a principle analogous to that which "has made the medical profession active in its search for, and in the elimination of the causes of disease, and ill-content to rest at effecting a cure of the disease when experienced".

### Boards Criticized.

"Boards of Management.—The money-attracting power of an individual is too often the first consideration in selecting a new member. 'I have a vacancy in my board', said a president, 'and I am looking for the society woman who will bring us in most money, and I know it is all wrong'. Another said, 'Women are anxious to get on our board, because a place on the board is a step up on the society ladder'. It is claimed that the appointment of honorary officers is necessary in order to attract and hold financial support. I cannot help feel that the contention is an injustice to many whose names appear as such, and that they would give just as liberally whether or not they received recognition. With but few exceptions there was every indication that the average board member has little conception of the social and economic conditions which necessitate the existence of their institutions, and, as a direct result, see no reason for co-operation with other social agencies. In one case it was the avowed policy of the president to withhold from the public the truth as to a social condition which made the work necessary, lest it should deter the public from giving financial support. Ignorance is inexcusable, but wilful concealment is unforgivable.

"Executive officers.—I cannot help remarking that there is little evidence to show that any large number have constantly in mind the fact that Jesus not only healed

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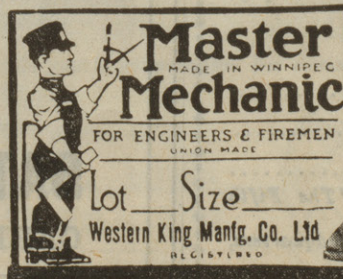
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the sick and helped the poor, but also denounced the Scribes and Pharisees and forcibly drove the money-changers from the House of God. The social workers of Montreal, through lack of courage, have not done much to prevent a recurrence of the social diseases with which they come in contact.

#### Poverty Hidden by Wealth.

"Volunteers in Social Work — (quoting Rabbi Wise).—'You are to be cursed, not blessed, if you merely use the surplus wealth of the rich to hide the evidences of social maladjustment'. Montreal's citizens in pre-war days have been generous with their money and generous with their time, but the time has been too largely spent in arranging tag-days, bazaars, street fairs, balls, cabarets and such like."

"Social, Physical and Mental Diagnosis." — There is no hope for social or economic reform except it be based on accurate and reliable data. Such agencies as are making careful diagnosis register the identification information with the Confidential Exchange operated by the Charity Organization Society, but less than a dozen of the 80 use the exchange intelligently.

"Yearly Reports.—With a few exceptions appear to be the product of board members and not of the

executive officers, otherwise it is difficult to account for the fact that agencies whose work is teeming with possibilities for 'human interest' stories paint their work in such drab colors that one cannot blame the business man for throwing them in his waste-paper basket as soon as he has made sure that his subscription is correctly acknowledged."

"Institutions.—In not a few cases would be rewarded by a small expenditure of money on more attractive interior. Men, women and children who are poor or sick need beauty in their lives as much as, if not more than, the rich. Good colored prints are cheap."

#### Hospitals Neglected.

"Hospitals.—The only hospitals which receive anything like adequate assistance are the Alexandra Hospital for infectious diseases, and the hospital for the insane at Verdun, the city helping the former and the province the latter; the reason is obvious, they know that public opinion has been developed by fear to the point of demanding that the well people shall be protected from the dangerous sick. Public opinion, as a whole, in its ignorance is not sufficiently afraid of other communicable diseases, or sufficiently interested in those who suffer from non-communicable dis-

eases". There is no co-operation between groups of people interested in the different hospitals. The foundation of an hospital is a chance development.

"The Homeless Man.—There is more overlapping in this field than in any other field of work in Montreal.

"Unmarried Mothers.—There is room for much better cooperation in this field. No less than five different institutions shelter this type and in some cases they are mixed up with other types of dependent women, often far less desirable than the unmarried mother herself.

"Social Settlements and Boys' and Girls' Clubs.—They can but scratch the surface of the problem which confronts them in this city of poor homes, few playgrounds, poor censorship of commercialized recreation. Coupled with lack of compulsory education, child labor in stores and factories, wretched medical inspection in schools, and the existence of the commercialized vice on a scale hitherto unknown in Canada, these conditions are sapping the vitality of our children before they have entered the field of industry and commerce.

#### Boy Scouts Praised.

"Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.—In spite of all the anti-militarist critics, I believe that the best investment possible in Montreal, in this division of social work, is in this field.

"Playgrounds.—It is rather sad that after 17 years, Montreal, which took the lead at the start, should have remained stationary, whilst Toronto and Winnipeg have gone so far ahead."

"Baby Welfare.—The city pays dearly for its expensive economy. Montreal loses 178 of every 1,000 born; New York, with all his physical handicaps and its high tenements and congested areas, loses 93 per 1,000. A dollar spent on baby welfare may save us nine on the defective adult."

"Conclusion.—Co-ordination of social effort in Montreal in the past has not been attempted as a co-operative effort of a large number of social agencies acting under efficient administration."

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#### CO-OPERATIVE PARTY POLICY EXPLAINED.

"The Co-operative Party; Its Policy, and How to Attain it," was the subject for discussion at the Co-operative Union's Northwestern Sectional Conference, held in the Co-operative Hall, Beswick, Manchester, recently.

S. F. Perry, secretary of the Co-operative Party opened the discussion. Addressing 300 delegates, he said that their experience during the war had shown them that while they left politics alone, politicians would not leave them alone. The success of the Co-operative Party depended on what they could call the political consciousness of co-operators, who needed to realize their duty, not only as store members, but in a larger sense

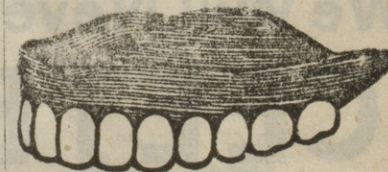
#### SIX-HOUR DAY FOR WINNIPEG PLANT.

Carrying out his theories on the labor question, Lord Leverhulme announced at Winnipeg on Monday that 130 employees of the Royal Crown Soap Company in the city, will be given a six-hour day without reduction in pay. He said that the offer was contingent on the attitude of union labor in Winnipeg for its approval.

The object of the conference, Mr. Perry said, was to get in touch with the men and women in the business side of the movement. It was the stern, hard, experience which the movement had had during the war that drove it into politics. They had been taught in the past to believe in the House of Commons. He was one of those who believed that the House of Commons did not really exist at the present time; what they had was a House of Interests, and if their interest was not represented, it would be a bad thing for the movement.

Continuing, Mr. Perry said that they had to realize that there was no prospect of a really abiding peace until they had established the international so far as the workers of all countries were concerned. The co-operative movement would have to look, in its policy, to the rebuilding of the international, and the settling of those problems which affected their home life.

After referring to the menace of the trusts and combines, the speaker said that the Co-operative Party was the only party advocating a policy of collective ownership and control, and it had proved by practical experience that the policy could be wisely and soundly applied. In the face of the crisis of the present time, there was a greater responsibility than ever thrown on the co-operative movement to go on with its practical policy of reconstruction. Workers were losing their faith in constitutional action. Speaking for himself, however, he hoped that neither the co-operative movement nor the party to which he belonged would ever be connected with any movement for direct action.



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## LABOR AND A LABOR PARTY

(Editorial in *Christian Science Monitor*.)

Organization of Labor in the United States has so long and so deliberately kept itself distinct from political organization that the emergence of a Labor Party with a definite political programme cannot fail to excite interest. It is not surprising, therefore, that the announcement of the formation of the Labor Party of the United States, as a result of the recent convention of radical laborists at Chicago, has attracted general attention and been freely commented upon by the press. The declaration of the new party's intention to "sweep the country" in 1920 with a presidential candidate who is as yet unnamed is, of itself, enough to start discussion, and the possibility that the organization may be able to consolidate behind it considerable groups of radicals, some from the industrial districts and others representing agriculturist combinations, among which the Non-Partisan League is mentioned, is already being weighed by the old-line managers.

If the new party gave promise of enlisting the more conservative, and therefore the more truly Americanistic, portion of organized labor, its appearance would point to a distinctly new phase of the Labor movement in this country. It would suggest a parallelism with the British labor development, where the existence of a parliamentary Labor Party has in recent years sharply differentiated conditions there from conditions in the United States. In this country Labor has preferred to keep clear of politics, preserving its organization as exclusively industrial and leaving its vote to go to the support of whatever party and candidates might seem to promise best for Labor's interests. In the United Kingdom, however, Labor has seen fit to seek its advantage by sending its own people, the actual workers, to take a hand in legislation and administration. It has done this in the face of opposition, of course, much of which in the early days took the form of ridicule; but it has accomplished two effects that are of increasing importance both to Labor and to the country. It has injected

into parliamentary activities the practical experience and knowledge of men who have themselves risen from the ranks of the workers, who know at first hand how work is done, and how workers feel and think in the midst of the doing of it. On the other hand, Labor has trained its own representatives in the field of practical activity, in the processes of legislation, and in the administration of government.

The representatives of the Labor Party are no longer smiled at for the crudities of their efforts in previously untrodden paths; they have learned in the rough school of experience—the only school that many of them ever had, even as workers—and they can now command attention and respect in the one field as in the other. As a party, moreover, Labor has been led, perhaps inevitably, to expand the conception of class interest into a conception more all-inclusive. Its programme originally aiming at class advantage or betterment, has approached the point of aiming at the betterment of all classes. And the wider appeal has drawn supporters from a constantly widening social area. As middle class groups have been driven, by economic pressure, to think of organization, they have tended to look with interest and favor on the Labor Party aims and achievements. Thus the Labor Party has, to a degree, moved away from the class autocracy which is apt to be Labor's first gesture, and has shown a democracy fairly commensurate with the widening of its political appeal.

No such development appears to be impending from the recent Labor Party activity at Chicago. In the first place, the Chicago movement so far gives no sign of being able to win the endorsement and support of the American Federation of Labor element, and thus to symbolize any fundamental change in policy on the part of Labor with respect to the control of its special affair. In the second place, the Chicago movement gives unmistakable evidence of being separated from the American Federation of Labor element by the same nationalistic cleavage that has been discernible in the steel strike and certain other industrial disturbances of the period

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since the armistice. There is no guarantee that the so-called Labor Party of the United States is a real United States proposition. There is no actual indication yet, other than paper assertions, to show that this party can win and hold specific radicalistic groups, like the non-partisan farmers, than there is that the recent formed Communist Party will be able to attract and to hold the majority of

Socialists. And on top of all its pretensions, there is the likelihood that the workers in this country, who are increasingly of a mind to work out the industrial problem on lines of thoroughgoing Americanism, will not immediately or ultimately throw their valued support to an aggregation which advocates the solution of American labor difficulties by methods that squint toward eastern Europe.

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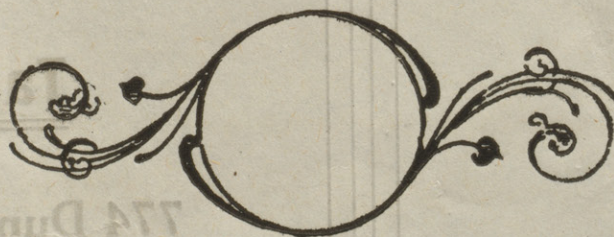
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